893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

r husband, he was at liberty to inflict what
recover from the adulterer whatever value
at case becoming the property of the payer.
to her father as damaged goods, insisting on
ack.

unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at
Once married, however, they are generally modest,
chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Laws.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Larquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Telvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Ina-piva-mapu*

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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762 [intestines] on the right side of his body," and more often, in recent years, uses a revolver. The chief reason for suicide is "feeling sad about a thing." In two instances insanity was given as the cause. An informant in his eighties told of a suicide that had just happened: "When I arrived home last evening, a young man, only 25 years old, had cut his throat. He was still lying near my yard [the Argentine law forbids the removal of such a body until the police have given permission to do so]. The people are saying that this man committed suicide because he had a heavy and sad heart—his mother, who was a widow, died in disgrace recently. Although she had sons and daughters with whom she might have lived, she gave herself up to other men. If one of the man's [suicide's] sisters had been sad, she would have hung herself; one of my women relatives did that. This relative of mine loved someone, but her parents would not allow her to marry him and this saddened her. She fastened one end of a rope about her neck and tied the other to a branch of a tree that hung over a cliff—any projection would have done. She let go of the rope, and there she hung in midair."

While I was in the area a young woman hung herself because her father refused to let her work in San Martin de los Andes. The following morning, a schoolboy, while looking for a horse on which to ride to school, found her hanging from a tree.

An 80-year-old informant told of a suicide committed by a woman who was intermittently insane. "The woman went to her daughter-in-law's house to see why the daughter-in-law's small child was crying. She found the daughter-in-law hanging from the rafters by a rope and the child hanging onto its mother's feet. The mother-in-law could not look at the woman; she grabbed the child and ran out of the house."

LYING, THEFT, INTOXICATION

577 Persons seldom lied. Liars were not respected. "It is the same today," said a man in his eighties. Old informants remarked that young men tell lies at home about food, "the way in which they got the food that they bring home from estancias, especially animals. We eat the food, but no one compliments the young man for having provided it." A non-Araucanian, who was born and reared among the Araucanians and who employed a large number of them on his estancia, noted, "An Araucanian cannot lie and get away with it. You can see it in his face and in his actions the minute he tells a lie."

674 Stealing today is usually done from Argentines; seldom is anything stolen from an Araucanian. Things stolen are usually sheep.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Introduction

blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society.
182 In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern
[578] with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs,
796 equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized
182 behavior is in concordance with the moral order which per-
577 meates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to
602 departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are
779 moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe* lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned; why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

[581] [4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[579] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[57] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments
in the total social system comparable to those of a prescrip
tive system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of
121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention
772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in
582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be
viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in
which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of comple-
mentary opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social
institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed
in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association
121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an
182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For
772 one thing, must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of
socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must
be logical constructs which together form some sort of con-
ceptual unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the
values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the
sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units
must in turn have some significant relationship to the institu-
tions of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the
case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the
area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association
of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which
enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness
serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their
social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discover-
able outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly
121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make
582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in
571 many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and
marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships,
that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant
factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly
preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets
of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal
[577] descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions
which constitute moral rules. There is also a further connection

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE 1

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (reñil)	afterworld (wenumapu)
hal hal	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and *rume* means "right." Whether used separately or simply *wele* and *rume*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piuke-rume* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Weza* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethurgun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *weza lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to the left half of the universe and those associated with good linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, potent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect those beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.